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MANCHURIAN SETTLEMENT ESSENTIAL FOR CHINESE UNITY

THE accord signed in Chungking on February 25, providing for the unification of Central Government and Communist forces over the next eighteen months, is an important contribution toward long-term unity in China. Yet serious obstacles face those who wish to carry out the new pact. The reported Russian economic demands in Manchuria have not only aroused genuine Chinese apprehension—giving rise to Chiang Kai-shek's declaration of February 25 that negotiations must be based on Chinese law, the Chinese-Soviet pact, and China's international treaties—but apparently are also being used to the full by Right-wing elements in Chungking who oppose the Kuomintang-Communist unity accord. According to dispatches from the Chinese capital, the struggle between pro- and anti-unity views within the government seems likely to reach a climax at the March 1 meeting of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

MANCHURIA IN CHINA'S POLITICS. There

is no doubt whatever that the Chinese public has felt a real sense of bitterness and concern over the situation in the northeastern provinces. But

when this reaction is accompanied by the smashing of the Chungking editorial office of the liberal Democratic League newspaper—as well as the Communist newspaper office—it becomes clear that other factors are involved. The trend toward violence, moreover, is not traceable solely to the Manchurian issue, for on February 10, before Chinese nationalist opinion had become inflamed, an all-party meeting in Chungking to celebrate the recent unity pact was broken up, and some of China's foremost liberal leaders were severely beaten. Both in this case and in the smashing of its news-

paper office on February 22, the Democratic League has charged Kuomintang elements with responsibility.

China's internal situation and its relations with the U.S.S.R. are of grave concern to the United

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

1896-1946

The *New York Herald Tribune*, commenting on the death of Raymond Leslie Buell in its issue of February 21, made the following statement: "Mr. Buell probably attained his greatest public recognition through his activities with the Foreign Policy Association, one of the nation's leading agencies in directing study to international problems."

Raymond Buell came to the FPA in 1927 in the fullness of his intellectual powers, and he gave us of his best through twelve fruitful years. The Research Department had been a going concern since 1923, operating on a very limited budget. Mr. Buell expanded its scope, engendering on the part of his associates vitality and enthusiasm that were contagious. The weekly conferences became exciting and even highly controversial, for Buell was provocative, and enjoyed the challenging of opinions, including his own. Often he was blunt and tough, with a scorn of compromise which time alone tempered. Yet he held himself and his associates to the objective marshaling of facts.

In those early years there was a boyishness about him which disarmed those inclined to stand in awe of his erudition, his explosive ideas and his almost superhuman capacity for work. He was generous in his appreciation of the contribution made by women in the field of international relations. In the choice of his associates his judgment was unerring. Today every one of the original group he selected holds an important position in the field of foreign affairs or higher education.

When Buell became President of the FPA in 1937 he made a point of being easily accessible to every member of the staff, holding that if any one had a grievance or, better still, a "bright idea," he wanted to know it. Many a staff member had reason to appreciate his warmth of heart and his sympathy in time of illness or personal sorrow.

Raymond Buell was a man of rare scholarship, creative imagination and rugged character. He died in his fiftieth year with much that he longed to achieve unattained. Deeply loyal in his affections, and always inspired by a high sense of public service, he wanted to live but faced death unafraid.

ESTHER G. OGDEN

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States, for this country's interests require that China be spared the ravages of another civil war, and that Manchuria be under Chinese sovereignty. General Marshall's mission unquestionably has tended to lessen the danger of civil conflict which was acute last fall. But fighting between Chinese forces is now going on in Manchuria, despite the general cessation of armed conflict elsewhere.

It is a noteworthy fact that, while unity has progressed in Chungking, Kuomintang-Communist relations in Manchuria are in roughly the same state as they were in embattled North China only a few months ago. Yet it is obviously impossible to achieve genuine unity in Chungking, Nanking, or Peiping if it does not exist in the Northeast; for Manchuria, with a population of more than 40,000,000, a sizable fraction of the country's area, and the preponderant part of China's modern industry, is the kind of exception that can break any rule. It is true that the Kuomintang-Communist accord on the unification and reorganization of China's armies includes Manchuria and assigns a preponderant role in that region to the Central forces. Yet the basic political issues in Manchuria remain unsettled, and some decision will have to be reached on the Communist demand, voiced by a Yen'an spokesman on February 14, that in taking over Manchuria the Central Government give "fair and effective representation" to all parties and groups; recognize and cooperate with anti-Japanese forces in the area; recognize "all democratic county governments"; restrict its own forces entering Manchuria "to a stipulated strength," in view of the work of local troops in maintaining peace; and forbid the use of puppet troops in the area. According to the Communists, a "democratic joint army" of almost 300,000 exists in Manchuria in areas neither garrisoned nor evacuated by the Russians.

LARGER ISSUES AT STAKE. The Manchurian situation, however, cannot be fully understood un-

less it is viewed as part of a much larger Asiatic realm, stretching from Kamchatka to Indonesia and from the U.S.S.R. to the Pacific islands formerly under Japanese mandate. If this vast region is studied as the unit that it actually is, then it is clear that in the past six months both the United States and the Soviet Union have been seeking to fill the vacuum left by Japan's defeat. This country, for example, has retained hold of the Pacific islands, established its dominance in Japan, occupied southern Korea, and maintained an important force of Marines in China. At the same time Russia has been incorporating the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin, re-acquiring rights it once possessed in Manchuria, and occupying north Korea. While the Russians would like to secure a powerful economic role in Manchuria, the United States has been moving toward a dominant position in the Chinese Central Government's plans for economic development. The general effect, however justified or natural any individual action may be, is to create two power zones and to raise on a larger scale, but in less obvious form, the problem of zonal conflict that a Kuomintang-Communist civil war would create for American-Soviet relations.

The Manchurian question is thus intimately related to the general evolution not only of China, but of the post-war Far East as a whole. The first two prerequisites of peace would seem to be (1) the achievement of a progressive Chinese agreement concerning Manchuria by applying to that area the principles of the unity accord of January 31 covering the rest of China, and (2) the withdrawal of all foreign troops — Russian, American and Japanese — from China at the earliest possible date. Although innumerable other problems exist, these measures would at least create a basis for the growth of a single Chinese government, sovereign throughout China, and unhampered by the political influence of foreign forces on its soil.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER—

CAN ARAB DEMANDS BE RECONCILED WITH GREAT-POWER SECURITY?

Is the presence of foreign troops on a country's soil a threat to peace? This question, already raised in Iran, Greece and Indonesia, is posed again by events in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon in the Eastern Mediterranean, crossroads of three continents and battleground of many peoples. On February 23 at a mass meeting of 10,000 Egyptian students, a two-week truce was called in the bloody anti-British rioting of recent weeks, but a spokesman for a "National Committee of Students and Workers" threatened to organize student "fighting forces" to expel the British if they have not evacuated Egypt by the time the truce ends.

ANTI-BRITISH RIOTING IN EGYPT. The British remain in Egypt by virtue of a 1936 treaty authorizing the maintenance of 10,000 troops and

400 Royal Air Force pilots with auxiliary personnel. Traditional Egyptian suspicions of Britain have been exacerbated by the current intensification of Arab nationalism, the food shortage and accompanying inflation, and the confused Egyptian political situation in which nationalists no longer in power are trying to make political capital by playing on anti-British prejudice. Britain's delay in answering an Egyptian note of December 20, which had asked for a revision of the 1936 treaty, aroused the Egyptian press to demand unsuccessfully that the government appeal, if necessary, to the United Nations Organization. Egyptian nationalists want not only the complete withdrawal of British troops, but incorporation of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan into Egyptian territory, control of the Suez Canal, and territorial concessions in

the former Italian possessions of Cyrenaica and Eritrea.

The British, hard-pressed in Greece, Indonesia and elsewhere, delivered a conciliatory reply on January 26 agreeing to review the 1936 treaty "on a footing of full and free partnership as between equals." That the Egyptians considered this an evasion was revealed by an outbreak of violence on February 9, which culminated in another cabinet crisis and the resignation of Prime Minister Nokrashy Pasha's coalition government six days later. With considerable difficulty 71-year-old Ismail Sidky Pasha succeeded in forming a new ministry, while the British announced on February 18 the replacement of their unpopular Ambassador, Lord Killearn, by Sir Ronald Ian Campbell, a personal friend of the new Prime Minister. These changes seemed to prepare the way for treaty negotiations; but student demonstrations continued in a bloody general strike on February 21, during which, according to an Egyptian official, 14 persons were killed and 123 injured. Strong warnings by the Egyptian government have persuaded the nationalists to postpone until March 4 a nation-wide general strike to commemorate the victims of February 21. Meanwhile, representatives of the Arab states decided on February 25 to bring the Anglo-Egyptian dispute before the March meeting of the Arab League Council.

UNO DISCUSSES LEVANT ISSUE. Although the presence of British and French troops in Syria and Lebanon has produced no such turmoil in recent months, the Syrians and Lebanese did bring the issue before the UNO on February 5 when they asked the Security Council to recommend the "total and simultaneous evacuation" of the troops of both powers. A London-Paris pact of December 13, 1945 had already provided for withdrawal, but the last troops were not to leave until the UNO had made arrange-

ments for collective security in the Levant. Moreover, subsequent Franco-British negotiations for the start of troop withdrawals bogged down because the French declared they had assumed the British forces would withdraw to Palestine, whereas the British intended to regroup their forces in Lebanon along with the French until the desired collective security system was established. A general strike in protest against continued occupation was then staged in Damascus, Aleppo and Beirut on January 3. British and French troops remained, however, and Syrian and Lebanese delegates carried the case to the UNO. According to one report, denied by the Syrian Premier, Syria had received a written promise of Russian support in the Security Council. Whether this rumor was true or not, the Soviet Union did help to the extent of vetoing on February 16, at the last session of the Security Council, a compromise United States proposal which even the Syrian and Lebanese delegates had pronounced acceptable. French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault told a press conference the following day that French and British troops would withdraw, but that a collective security system would be a prerequisite to evacuation, and that "nobody but France" could be in charge of such a system.

The area of the Near and Middle East lying between the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal is of such vital strategic importance that the great powers which have interests in that region will continue to try to maintain military establishments there. What is needed is an arrangement that will prevent the presence of foreign troops from becoming a threat to the peace. The wisest approach to the problem would be the internationalization of strategic points like the Dardanelles and Suez under an effective United Nations Organization. If such an arrangement proves impossible, sharp conflicts between the great powers, whether verbal or military, must be anticipated. The Russians want not only control of the Dardanelles, but influence over neighboring Turkey. At present Turkey is within the British sphere, which partly explains Russia's support of Syria and Lebanon. The stand taken by Russia in the Security Council is one of many indications that it is seeking to win over the Arabs, isolating them from the Turks. Confronted by Russia's aspirations Britain, which feels that its empire is again threatened, is trying to revise its relations with the countries along its Mediterranean life line in such a way as to satisfy their nationalist desires and at the same time preserve its own security.

VERNON MCKAY

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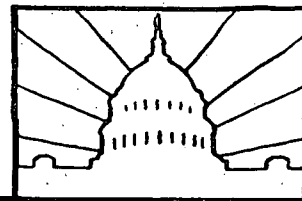
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Washington News Letter



U.S. DELAY ON ATOMIC POLICY CONTRIBUTES TO WORLD UNREST

The special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy has begun to debate the gravest question affecting United States foreign policy. Have international relations deteriorated to such an extent that this country should devote its main efforts to making itself militarily secure against all possible emergencies, or is the current state of tension a passing phase of post-war political readjustment whose termination the United States can hasten by demonstrating its confidence in the United Nations Organization as a safeguard of national security? The immediate issue at stake is how we shall control the development and use of atomic energy.

CIVILIAN OR MILITARY CONTROL? On February 19 the Senate concluded the hearings on atomic control legislation which opened on November 27, 1945. The Committee is now debating whether it will recommend to the Senate the May-Johnson Bill, which would direct the President to establish a control commission empowered to deal with atomic energy as a primarily military question, or the McMahon or Ball bills, which call for the establishment of a civilian commission free from military domination. The latter two bills reflect the view that the capacity to produce atomic energy should be devoted to peacetime pursuits and used for the good of the world rather than merely the security of the United States. The Committee has a great responsibility, because its appraisal of existing international relations will affect world affairs for years to come. One question facing Committee members is whether the continuing manufacture of the atomic bomb and the maintenance of secrecy about that weapon since Japan's surrender have contributed to the unrest and instability revealed daily in reports from Manchuria, Egypt, India, Iran and Java.

At present, atomic energy in this country is subject to military control. Arguing for civilian control, scientists testifying before the Committee have stressed their belief that continued manufacture of the bomb would not assure our security for two reasons. First, they argued, other nations may learn how to make it. Second, there is what Dr. John A. Simpson, of the Nuclear Studies Institute, University of Chicago, on December 18 called the "phenomenon of saturation"—meaning that when State A has enough bombs to destroy State B, it is immaterial whether State B has more bombs than State A. Scientists also told the Committee that the McMahon

bill would not be harmful to the security of the United States if the United Nations Organization should fail. Other scientists opposed military control because it would result in secrecy and thus hamper scientific research, and Dr. Harrison Davies, of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, declared on January 29 that scientists have already begun to desert the field of atomic study because of the present secrecy requirements. Many witnesses at the hearings foresaw general use of atomic power.

INTERNATIONAL BOMB PROBLEM. Meanwhile, however, the announcement by the Canadian government on February 15 that a foreign power had been guilty of espionage strengthened the case for military control in the minds of some Committee members. The subsequent revelation that the foreign power referred to was Russia caused the Committee on February 21 to question Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and Major General L. R. Groves, head of the Manhattan Engineering Project, on their views as to the relation of the alleged espionage to the policy the United States should follow concerning the bomb. The State Department is not of the opinion that the security of this country is endangered by the evidence of spying uncovered by the Canadian government, and Secretary Byrnes on February 20 said that we still safely hold the secret of the bomb. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, however, fears that spies seeking bomb secrets are at work in the United States.

The length of time devoted by the Committee to its study of the problems raised by our monopoly possession of technical knowledge about atomic bomb production has itself disturbed international relations, since other countries have been kept in suspense about the policy we intend to adopt toward this new weapon. "I feel that it is a matter of urgency that sound domestic legislation . . . be enacted with utmost speed," President Truman wrote Senator McMahon on February 2. "Domestic and international issues of the first importance wait upon this action." While the Committee is studying bills relating only to domestic control, it understands that the problem is essentially international, and the McMahon bill subordinates domestic development of atomic energy to international agreements. Early in March the Committee intends to hold a series of hearings on international aspects of the atomic energy problem.

BLAIR BOLLES